SIX

LETTERS,

ADDRESSED

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

EARL FITZWILLIAM,

LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

By Bolingbroke.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY *G. FOLINGSBY*, 59, DAME-STREET.

1795.

BRITISH MUSEUM

INTRODUCTION.

THE Letters which compoſe the following pages, were meant originally for a public paper; and the two firſt were inſerted in the MORNING POST, early in the month of January. The Editor of that print having thought proper to ſuppreſs the third, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, the Author offers them, in their preſent form, to Lord Fitzwilliam, and the Public, whom they were meant to ſerve.

He is ſenſible that many inaccuracies and literary defects muſt neceſſarily abound in a work written upon the ſpur of the occaſion, and under the preſſure of various avocations:—the lapſe of time likewiſe, ſince ſome of them were firſt written, in many inſtances, has rendered the ſubjects that compoſe them ſtale. All periodical publications are too evaneſcent in their natures, and generally of too trifling and particular a tendency, to claim reviſion, or merit; being collected into one regular work; but the author of them feels, that he muſt have appeared to have ſhrunk from the duty of a good citizen, if he had ſuppreſſed glaring truths, which, though operating againſt the intereſts of a few individuals, ſeemed to him neceſſary to be known and inveſtigated, and tending to general benefit.—Theſe are no times for ſqueamiſh delicacy,—and the man who looks tamely on his country's wrongs, is unworthy of the name ſhe beſtows upon him.

If the moſt flagrant corruption—if the moſt barefaced and ſcandalous miſapplication of the public money—if proſtitution and venality go hand in hand for a number of years,—can that man be called a traducer, who expoſes profligacy, and drags the offenders forth to public notice? The POLITICAL PORTRAITS, which appear in the following ſheets, though the colouring may appear high to ſome, are, nevertheleſs, real effigies. If the painter has been fortunate enough, to "catch the living manners as they roſe," the critic will excuſe the incorrectneſs of the dauber, for the merit of the likeneſs, and the connoiſſeur perhaps afford them a corner in his cabinet.

The Fifth and Sixth Letters, which were written on the ſubject of the WAR, were meant to be followed up by others on the ſame ſubject, as affairs abroad, or circumſtances at home, required it.—This was a wide field for argument and ſpeculation to range through,—and in attempting to touch a ſubject of ſuch momentous magnitude as the FRENCH REVOLUTION, and the progreſs of the preſent unhappy WAR, the Author, he hopes, felt as he ſhould do,—like a man, and the citizen of a free ſtate. The rejection of his Third Letter, put a ſtop to this his original intention; and he now, after a hurried and incorrect abridgement of that important ſubject, in his Fifth and Sixth Letters, ſubmits the whole to the judgment and feeling of his countrymen, under the ſignature of

BOLINGBROKE.

LETTERS

TO

EARL FITZWILLIAM.

LETTER I.

MY LORD,

NO Viceroy ever undertook the government of this country at ſo critical a period as the preſent, nor was there ever ſo much amendment and controul hoped for and wanted, in the adminiſtration of it, from any, as is now expected from your Lordſhip.

Harraſſed by a long and ruinous war, unexampled in the annals of mankind, the people here, as well as in Great-Britain, anxiouſly expect its termination; when they may breathe a little from the accumulated oppreſſions under which they have groaned, and recover thoſe energies which are nearly exhauſted. Drained of men and money as this country has been, not only during the American conteſt, but in the progreſs of this deſtructive cruſade, tho' laviſh of both, and ready as it has

ever been "to ſtand and fall with the Britiſh Empire," the diſeaſes that it has engendered within, are ſtill more ſeverely felt and impatiently ſuffered than even the ſcourge of a foreign war, impoſed upon her by a union of intereſts, implied by this tacit compact. Her treaſury and her blood have flowed freely in ſupport of her Imperial Confederate: but, when the temple of Janus was cloſed, Britain forgot her part of the covenant, and, in every ſtruggle for power, which took place in the Siſter Kingdom, during thoſe foreign troubles, and at every change in her Miniſtry, Ireland was ſure to be the ſufferer;—if we except one auſpicious period, during the government of the Duke of Portland, when, by a native exertion of ſtrength, ſhe ſhook off the chains that manacled her commerce.

Since that period, my Lord, a party has ſprung up here that has governed with a rod of iron, and a confederacy has taken place that has monopolized almoſt every place of truſt and emolument, from the firſt Law Officer of the Crown to the Guager on the quay of our Cuſtom-houſe;—while the people have been oppreſſed and the treaſury exhauſted, to ſupport a wretched ſyſtem of oppreſſion.

Your coming has been looked to like that of one who was to regenerate the land, and cleanſe it from its impurities, and the nation expects largely at your hands.—The reputation you poſſeſs for

honour

honour and integrity will be now put to the teſt, and the character you bear for ſound ſenſe and good diſcretion, will be beſt illuſtrated by the meaſures you adopt.—I entertain no doubt of either; and tho' perhaps you may, at firſt, find it difficult to remove every vice in the Conſtitution, each effort to reſtrain the inordinate growth of corruption, that has of late years become intolerable, will have its effect and in the end prove ſucceſsful.

The crafty and concealed meaſures which before the time of Lord Buckingham were thought neceſſary for ſecurity, if not for decency, to corrupt the national repreſentation, were then laid aſide as uſeleſs, and a ſyſtem of venality openly avowed by the runners of his adminiſtration, as the principle and expedient by which they governed.—Then firſt was heard of that *Back-ſtair influence*, which has ſince uniformly ſtrove to counteract the good intentions of the ſovereign;—that bloated *incubus* which had lain on the boſom of Royalty and oppreſſed it with its weight;—the phantom of that power which, in the days of Lord Chatham, had crept and lay concealed behind the Throne, and which, to uſe his emphatic expreſſion, "was greater than the Throne itſelf;"—a clumſy heap of vague ſyſtems of exploded controul;—an inflated maſs of Algebraical chimeras, puffed up by ſelf-ſufficiency and adapting itſelf to the ſolving of every political problem—where vulgar arithmetic and the learning of the compting-houſe was made

made the ſtandard for every department, and by a miſapplication of it, *diviſion* was the rule by which abuſes were *multiplied*. Furniſhed with Cocker's Arithmetic and armed with a dipping-rule, this political Hercules, who was to cleanſe the Augean ſtable, made his way into every office, as if keeping a ledger was the ſure guide to œconomy.—Splendid, tho' mean, his oſtentatious diſplay of mock majeſty ſerved only to degrade him; nor could the troop of horſe which attended his excurſions protect him from the contempt he merited.—Profuſe without being generous, his ſtate was the triumph of an overweening arrogance, where an empty importance and a ſilly ſtrut recalled to mind a true picture of the Squire of Cervantes.—It was this prevailing propenſity to thrift and that ſedulous attention to trifles in œconomy which degraded the Repreſentative of Royalty into the Steward of an Hoſpital and Chief Inſpector of Pots and Porringers;* an office for which Nature ſeemed to have intended him, and better adapted to his genius and talents than the government of a great kingdom. Aſtride this hobby-horſe, he loſt ſight of conſiſtency; and tho' he profeſſed to drag defaulters into day, by the energy of his adminiſtration, he it was who firſt introduced that corrupt mode of influencing the Houſe of Commons, by the aid of a profligate

* He removed from the Caſtle, to the royal Hoſpital at Kilmainham, for the purpoſe of retrenching the expenditure and robbing the old Men of half their coals and candles.

junto

junto which has ſince grown into a formidable oligarchy.

By inveſting, with the firſt offices of the State, men of one principle and one family, he tranſferred to them a degree of patronage and power which has overawed and depreſſed the people. Then firſt appeared that many-headed monſter which has increaſed and fattened on the ſpoils of the public, to the diſgrace of the national juriſprudence and the embezzlement of the public revenue.—Such monſters muſt ever exiſt in Governments conducted by ſuch means, and ſimilar excreſcences muſt ever be produced from a conjunction of proſtitution and profligacy; but their devaſtations muſt ceaſe when men are found wiſe and honeſt enough to oppoſe them, and ſuch, I truſt, will compoſe your Lordſhip's adminiſtration;—men more indebted to induſtry and a virtuous education than the good fortune which alone raiſed their predeceſſors. For, to uſe the language of that great Stateſman, whoſe ſignature I have ventured to adopt—"Fortune maintains a kind of rivalſhip with wiſdom, and picques herſelf often in favour of fools as well as knaves. Socrates uſed to ſay, that altho' no man undertakes a trade he has not learned, even the meaneſt, yet every one thinks himſelf ſufficiently qualified for the hardeſt of all trades, that of Government." And he ſuppoſes ſuch a man to be "*Imprudent, preſumptuous, ungracious, inſolent, and profligate in ſpeculation as as well as practice!*"

Is this a fictitious character? Or would not one ſuppoſe that Bolingbroke had looked forward to the preſent day and, with a happy preſcience, had depicted the character of a great law officer, who, having wandered from the direct path of profeſſional duty, into the labyrinths of politics,—intoxicated with ſudden elevation and giddy with authority, had miſtaken the high road that led to reputation?

Since the ſhameful retreat of Lord Buckingham, his place has been ſupplied by perhaps the only man of rank in Great-Britain, who would have been mean enough to accept the government on the like terms, and whoſe only object in ſubmitting to the controul and guidance of his worthy predeceſſor was the income annexed to the Lord Lieutenancy. The ſame filthy ſyſtem of jobbing, the ſame coercive meaſures, and a ſimilar routine of political manœuvre, which diſgraced the one, and rendered him obnoxious, has been practiced by the other, under the kind tutelage of his legal preceptor. And here, my Lord, let me call your attention to thoſe glaring abuſes which have crept into the adminiſtration of the country over which you are now called to preſide; not as your predeceſſors were, by ſecret intrigue and the influence of a back-ſtair interference, but by the voice of an independent intereſt, and your own high character for incorruptible integrity and enlightened underſtanding. Nor are you the miſerable automaton, which was moved about by the hand of a miniſ-

terial

terial juggler, who, concealed behind the ſcreen, made his puppet play the part he had deſigned for him; but a redeeming power, ſent not only to govern, but to guide a people labouring under heavy and accumulating evils, and left to chuſe your own council and adviſers. Reject therefore with ſcorn the inſinuations of thoſe men who have heretofore dabbled in politics, and rendered the government ſuſpected and deſpiſed; who have inflamed the animoſity of this nation by a ſyſtem of oppreſſion, and the coercion of laws too arbitrary for a free people.

If a perſonal requeſt from an high and impoſing authority has been acceded to, let it be qualified as it ſhould;—by confining the object of it within his proper ſphere of action. They ſurely are unfit to conciliate, who have been the foremoſt to coerce, the people,—and times like the preſent demand a mild and lenient government.

The firſt judicial ſtation in the kingdom has been held by a man who has conſtantly endeavoured to blend the politics of the Caſtle with his judicial character; thereby uniting the exerciſe of two duties which ſhould ever be diſtinct, and that are incompatible with one another. I ſhall not impute, to the noble perſon here alluded to, either want of integrity or legal knowledge. But this I will ſay, that to participate in the management of a country at any time, but more particularly at a time like the preſent, when a total

revolution

revolution in human opinions has taken place, and where the political ſtorm, raiſed in a neighbouring kingdom, has conveyed to this an electric ſhock, which has quickened its languid pulſe, promoted a freer circulation of opinions, and rouſed, from its paralyſis, the enfeebled body of the nation, ſuch a man is radically unfit.—Unfit, from a want of temper to forbear, and manners to conciliate;—unfit, from his well known contempt of, and diſlike to, that body of the people from whence he roſe, and which he has too often dared to calumniate; and finally unfit, becauſe he has neither native nor hereditary dignity to counterbalance thoſe wants in that aſſembly where he preſides, and to which he has become obnoxious, by the moſt indecent and unprovoked attacks levelled againſt its moſt venerable and dignified characters—men revered by that public which he affects to deſpiſe, and eſteemed by that nation which he has called "beſotted."

I am, my Lord, &c.

LETTER

LETTER II.

MY LORD,

THE ſtate fineſſe which prorogued the Parliament and ſent you over, Lord Lieutenant, was too rank even for John Bull to ſwallow; and there is not a thinking man in England, or Ireland, who does not believe that the diviſion of Mr. Pitt's friends in the Cabinet upon both theſe queſtions, if I am well informed, was conceived by Pitt himſelf, and meant, impoſingly, to maſk over his fears and his deſigns. This was an argument which our young Machiavel had before more ſucceſsfully practiſed on the queſtion of Parliamentary Reform, to which he had been pledged, when a candidate for popularity, but on which, at his acceſſion to power, he found it both prudent and convenient to be left in a minority. It is true he brought forward the meaſure: but how came it that his friends voted againſt it? A Miniſter joining with the oppoſition to promote a Reform, to which he was ſolemnly pledged, when perſonal aggrandizement was his object, and yet his political adherents oppoſing it!—"*Riſum teneatis amici!*"

The Goddeſs of Chaſtity transformed Actæon into a ſtag for his temerity, that he might be devoured by his own hounds. Happily, our immaculate Miniſter is of a leſs inquiſitive temper in matters that concern the fair ſex; and, probably, it might have been in reſentment for ſome of her neglected or abuſed rights that a divinity, leſs ceremonious, ſo changed our young Iulus that his friends knew him not and oppoſed him. I ſhould here beg pardon of Mr. Burke for the alluſion I have made to Actæon and his *hounds;* his fanciful imagination, that gives "to airy nothings local habitation and a name," firſt adopted* the compariſon; no doubt from ſome ſtriking ſimilitude to his friends on the Treaſury Bench. He has ſince had an opportunity, by joining in the *cry* and *hunting* after Court favours, to aſcertain more fully the juſtneſs of that application, and know that to cringe and fawn, to howl and to double, are the characteriſtics of the ſpecies he has been ſo fond of appropriating on all occaſions to his preſent aſſociates; and that men, by aping the properties of brutes, may well be made the ſubjects of ſuch compariſons. It was a cunning *caſt* of this ſort that ſent us a new Viceroy, and the Miniſter, finding his popularity on the decline, and that the hour of danger and retribution was approaching, adopted an artifice that he had before ſo happily availed himſelf of.—He appeared in a minority once

* *Vide* his Speeches on the Regency, "*paſſim.*"

more

more, that he might transfer, if poſſible, a portion of popular odium on the new coalition, by linking men of worth and integrity with ſome old ſtaunch hounds of the pack, and letting them run in couples.

Avoid the ſnare, my Lord, and let not your honorable mind, unſuſpicious of ſuch low cunning, be made the dupe of a paltry artifice; take for your friends and adviſers men like yourſelf, and leave the broken ſquad of Pitt and Buckingham their places as long as they can keep them. Under the laſh of honeſt and indignant virtue, they muſt ſhrink abaſhed, and, in the end, conſcious of their own inſignificance and the diminution of their former power, they will leave the ſtage to better actors; for, "they who affect to head an oppoſition, or to make any conſiderable figure in it, muſt (ſays Lord Bolingbroke) be equal at leaſt to thoſe whom they oppoſe; not only in parts, but in induſtry, and the fruits of both, information, knowledge, and a certain preparedneſs for all the events that may ariſe." Select ſuch men, my Lord, and let them be the pillars of your Adminiſtration. You will find them not on the Treaſury Bench or in office. Their integrity, added to other high qualities, rendered them unfit for any place of truſt or confidence under the two laſt Aminiſtrations. Their talents were hid in the gloom and their virtues withered under the blaſt of a malign influence. They could only mourn in ſecret, and in ſilence, over a wounded Conſtitution, now about to

be

be renovated under your auſpicious rule.—Such characters are not likely to obtrude; and your political ſagacity muſt be exerted to diſcover them.

You may, perhaps, find a man of this deſcription, whoſe integrity has been proof againſt the ſecret machinations of one party, and whoſe prudence has ſtood aloof from the injudicious and intemperate zeal of the other. "One of theſe fierce and indomitable ſpirits, even now upon the Bench, whoſe rugged and clumſy attachment to his duty would be proof againſt the arts of that mighty necromancer Pitt himſelf.*" You may find him, like Cincinnatus, cultivating his farm and adding to a vigorous and improved underſtanding a freſh ſtore of uſeful knowledge and claſſic taſte; —conſuming the fire of his genius and the energies of his mind in the purſuit of attainments which can only be uſeful to himſelf, or, at moſt, but feebly reflected on his friends and the public, from that partial elevation to which his merits alone have raiſed him, and where his integrity and wiſdom have daily exerciſed themſelves,—when the Councils of the nation might be informed and guided by the ſpirit of his patriotiſm, and the tumults of contending factions ſtilled by the thunder of his eloquence.—Men of this deſcription will not be eaſily brought to coaleſce with the characters I have already deſcribed; and, to obtain their

* *Vide* "Gleam of Comfort."

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance and advice, other meaſures, than thoſe the country has hitherto groaned under, muſt be adopted.

At a time like the preſent, when all Europe is in arms, and revolutions which occurred once or twice in a century, now ariſe every day;—when the ancient ſyſtem of politics, and the tactics of former ages, have yielded to modern principles of reform and the undiſciplined valour of men determined to be free;—when confederated ſovereigns have beheld their armies routed and diſperſed by a rabble whom they affected to deſpiſe, and the natural ardour of the human mind overcome every obſtacle raiſed by diſcipline and art—ſuch a time is not calculated for coercive meaſures, and the true wiſdom is to conciliate before it be too late.

The public mind has been kept in a ſtate of fermentation by the meaſures adopted in England for the maintenance of the government, as it is miſcalled; but, in truth, for the ſuppreſſion of particular opinions and particular men. The policy of the miniſter has failed him in both, and the *Trial by jury* has riſen like a Phœnix from the flames that have been kindled to deſtroy it.——Mr Pitt has ſhewn himſelf not only a miſerable war-miniſter, but an injudicious ſtateſman in the home department. He has uniformly blundered every meaſure ſince the commencement of the war, both at home and abroad—"*Iliacos intra muros peccatur, et extra.*"—

By

By each ſucceeding failure he has evinced the neceſſity of a total and radical reform :—yet he ſtill clings reluctant to his former power, and relinquiſhes, one by one, the partners and privileges of his former greatneſs. Some honeſt minds have been carried down in the vortex which the bulk and magnitude of him and his ſinking adherents have occaſioned. They will however, I truſt, riſe buoyant from the gulph into which miſtaken ſympathy has plunged them; but they muſt attach themſelves to other men and to other meaſures, if they hope to regain their former popularity and the high character they held in the Common Wealth. For the hour of trial muſt come, when that warning voice that long ſince deprecated theſe evils, and whoſe prophecies, like thoſe of Caſſandra, were unheard or deſpiſed, until their final accompliſhment, muſt prevail, and the MAN OF THE PEOPLE interpoſe for the ſalvation of his country.

CHARLES FOX is a name that grateful Britain will one day hand down to poſterity with the firſt and greateſt of her deliverers; whoſe undeviating conſiſtency was reviled as obſtinate inſanity, but whoſe ſound and judicious diſcernment of events, and prognoſtication of the cataſtrophe they have led to, falls little ſhort of inſpiration.—Oh, blind and ſenſeleſs nation! that could miſtake wiſdom for folly, and compare the cunning of a ſtate juggler to the divine workings of a "*Heaven-born miniſter!*"

The French revolution, the point of diſunion between Mr. Fox and his friends, has formed an æra

æra in human affairs heretofore unexampled, not only in the variety and novelty of its circumſtances, but in the magnitude and importance of its conſequences;—forming, as it were, a grand drama on a vaſt theatre, where a great portion of the human race were the actors;—exhibiting to an aſtoniſhed and admiring world the ſtruggles of a great people ſhaking off their chains, and breaking in pieces the manacles of their former bondage;—preſenting to our view every virtue and every vice that can exalt or debaſe human nature;—painting, with the lively energy of enthuſiaſtic genius, the triumphs of liberty and the bleſſings to be enjoyed by a free people—waving garlands for the brave, and ſtrewing laurels over the tombs of thoſe who had died for their country;—and, finally, exulting, with an eloquence commanding and energetic, over the new birth of a new conſtitution; yet preſenting, in perſpective, and often undiminiſhed and in full view, the riot of intoxicated ſucceſs, and the ruthleſs barbariſm of private revenge and public retribution;—man, ſavaged by his former ſufferings and diveſted of mercy, and woman, the conſoler of his fate, diſrobed of her faireſt ornaments, interceſſion and humanity, ſtriding over the ſlain, and inſulting the falling victim. Theſe are the ſcenes that have agitated and ſurpriſed all Europe; and, as the varying acts, or rouſed diſdain, or raiſed its admiration, have drawn from that great auditory a condemnation or applauſe that has divided the theatre.

This

This ſympathy, my Lord, (to carry the alluſion a little further) has ſpread ſo univerſally, that thoſe who ſhould have ſat ſilent and "looked tamely on" became partiſans of this or that ſide of the queſtion, and have eſpouſed the cauſe of the French or of the Allies with ten times more rancour than ever agitated the Imperial reſidence of the great Conſtantine, during the diſputes between the Green and Blue factions. Nay, ſo bigotted are men in their opinions, that ſome, forgetting their own pertinacity, perſecute their opponents with rancour and animoſity; and the governments of Europe are ſo vigilant or ſo ſuſpicious, that to deliver an abſtract opinion, or diſcuſs a general doctrine that may vary in a point from their eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, incurs a penalty to the author little ſhort of treaſon or the pillory.

Weak and fooliſh men! who ſuppoſe that perſecution can deſtroy a ſect;—who do not reflect that, by ſmothering a flame, we make it blaze the ſtronger, and that the perverſeneſs of human nature is ſuch, that the more we reſiſt the current of opinion, the higher it riſes, and the more force it acquires till its waves overtop their feeble barriers, and we are overwhelmed in the inundation.—No, my Lord, your adminiſtration will not, I truſt, be ſtained with ſtate proſecutions, but a ſyſtem of union promoted that ſhall render them unneceſſary. Thoſe maſſy pillars that ſupport the conſtitution, the LIBERTY of the PRESS, the TRIAL BY JURY, and the RIGHTS OF REPRESENTATION, which,

undermined

undermined and ſtripped of their capitals, ſtand, diſmantled monuments of an edifice ſinking to decay, will be reſtored to their juſt proportions and long loſt ornaments. Again let them riſe majeſtic, and let there be inſcribed on their entablitures the names of Ruſſel, Sidney, and of Somers;—thoſe illuſtrious ſtateſman who combated for freedom, or died for their country. The friends of the people will guard the riſing edifice committed to your care, for it is they alone can conciliate. But, my Lord, *half meaſures* will be of no avail towards reſtoring the people to their long loſt confidence in their rulers. A *total change* of men and meaſures muſt ſooner or later be adopted, and I ſincerely hope the glory may be reſerved for you and your friends, finally, to effect it. It muſt caſt a radiance round your character, and will not diſcredit the confidence your Sovereign has repoſed in you.

I am, my Lord, &c.

LETTER III.

MY LORD,

I HAD entertained the fond hope that in all my communications with your Lordſhip, I ſhould have had only to point out meaſures that called for redreſs, and reprobate abuſes which you could remedy;—that my taſk would be that merely of a concealed friend and adviſer, who wiſhed well to your perſon and to thoſe who were moſt likely to act with you; and my knowledge of your character, corroborated by what report ſpoke of you, inclined me to believe that your mind was of too elevated a caſt, to endure any bonds but thoſe impoſed by affection or duty.——But when I hear of conceſſions made to ſome, and compenſations to others, tending to place you in an unworthy point of view, can I be ſilent?—Can I ſtoop with unbecoming adulation to applaud an act which muſt tend to tarniſh the luſtre of a character ſo deſervedly eſteemed, and calculated to call down on your adminiſtration the ſuſpicions of the people? What! my Lord,—was there no other mode to get rid of old and hardened offenders, but by offers

offers of compenſation and reverſionary grants? If compenſations of this ſort were preconcerted in England by the Miniſter, to remunerate his friends here; and that their removal from office was only to be purchaſed at ſuch a price;—I can but regret that unhappy ſtate of politics which made it neceſſary for you to accept the government of this country upon ſuch terms. But if, on the contrary, it was an act of free-agency, and a liberality of your own, that ſent thoſe men out of office, rejoicing in the proſpect of future titles and emoluments, I am conſtrained to ſay it was an act highly reprehenſible.——The perſons, who are likely to ſucceed them, I muſt admit, are deſervedly dear to this country, and well entitled to the beſt employments it can furniſh. But, much as they are reſpected, I ſhould heſitate to provide even for them, through the means of a practice ſo fatal to the proſpects of others, and deſtructive of thoſe reſources which future Chief-governors ſhould poſſeſs for the maintenance and reward of the riſing generation.

That critical and coy moment that waits for no man, and which, once loſt, ſo ſeldom returns, paſſed away inauſpicious to this country, when the Parent and the Patriot ſtrove together, and the intereſts of the Land ſuccumbed to maternal tenderneſs.*—Had your Lordſhip accepted the Government

* This alludes to the circumſtance (perhaps not generally known) of Lord Fitzwilliam's declining the Government of Ireland, in Auguſt laſt, through the ſolicitude of his Counteſs for her Son's education in England.

on that eventful day, when Fame announced your appointment here,—when Nature and the Seaſons invited you, and Expectation ſtood on our ſhores with anxious gaze awaiting your arrival—all had been well.—The enemies to freedom had fallen.—Their reeling ſquadrons had not had time to rally,—their ranks would have been broken—their adherents diſperſed—and your triumph, and that of your friends, had been compleat——But the dæmon of Diſcord was buſy and the Genius of Ireland had fled.

By the diſmiſſal of thoſe perſons, ſome of whom I have alluded to, a ſyſtem of oppreſſion, that threatened the ſubverſion of all ſocial order, has received its death blow.—That High-prieſt of Prerogative, who has heretofore rode triumphant on the necks of the people, curtailed in his privileges, no more can hope for incenſe from his followers. The legal benefits he conferred on thoſe vaſſals who upheld his maxims of ſubjugation and tyranny are no more within his reach.—The black train of ſpies and informers, which ſupplied pabulum to the favourites whom he foſtered, have ſlunk away in hopeleſs dejection.—

That prompt officiouſneſs which ſprang forward, with jejune alacrity, in the purſuit of ſtate proſecutions, where prerogative was to be upheld and liberty laid proſtrate, muſt now reſume its former habits nor flippant folly again preſume with glib arrulity to prate of *Privileges*.

That

That haughty faſtidiouſneſs which marked the upſtart in authority, and made him brow-beat his inferiors in ſtation, but which could, occaſionally, be ſoftened and mellowed down, by his fears, into the ſemblance of reſerve and the affectation of dignity, muſt now be checked with prudent precaution, leſt clients ſhould forſake the pedant out of office, and the ſkill of the technical conveyancer be exerted to redeem the errors of the miſerable crown-lawyer.—In fine, that fit and ready inſtrument of oppreſſion in every ſhape—that clumſy and common-place advocate for deſpotiſm, who could ape the Baſhaw while in office, and yet fawn and crouch with abject ſervility on his more contemptible patron—the ſlave of his caprices and the aukward imitator of his looſe levities—muſt now content himſelf with every legal offal, and the profeſſional drudge, chained down to his writing deſk, no longer be permitted, like an hungry WOLF, to prowl at large, and prey upon the public.

The abolition of the infamous and inefficient eſtabliſhment of POLICE, calculated more for patronage than protection, I am happy to find, is to be the firſt peace-offering made to the city, and thoſe ſalutary meaſures of reform, to which oppoſition were pledged, unconditionally granted.—This leading object accompliſhed, the people look to others, of perhaps no inferior magnitude, and

and a few more ſplendid victims remain to be ſacrificed, as a propitiatory offering, on the altar of offended juſtice. In every change one or more muſt be made unhappy;—and it will be for your Lordſhip to determine, into which ſcale you will throw the weight to make it preponderate:—that, which contains the hopes and the happineſs of the nation, or this, to which the repinings and regrets of an official junto cling reluctant.

The CONSTITUTION OF THE REVENUE, that great channel of Commercial wealth has been made the vehicle of corruption, and in the hands of an unprincipled ruler, the patronage annexedto it was a fatal inſtrument of fraud.—In the language of true Whiggiſm*, "the "Board has been divided, and ſinecure offices ſplit "for the ſame unconſtitutional and venal purpoſes, "to multiply the number of commiſſioners, for "no other purpoſe than to encreaſe the influence "of the miniſter, and gratify the individual;" and in many offices the receipts have not amounted to the ſalaries.—Palaces were reared and aſſigned to the firſt and ſecond Commiſſioners; and furniſhed with a magnificence, and at an expence, unheard of and unparalelled:—yet no Parliamentary inquiry took place, and theſe luxurious embezzlements

* *Vide* Reſolutions and Declarations of the Whig Club.

were

were ranked under the head of *Secret-Service-money*, and *Extraordinaries !!!*

Let me indulge the hope, my Lord, that in time theſe abuſes will be inquired into and rectifiſied, and that the Treaſury Bench may be no longer incumbered with clumſy financiers, and ſimpering Commiſſioners;—Let us imitate at leaſt one virtue attatched to the Conſtitution of our Siſter Kingdom, and, by incapacitating Commiſſioners of the Revenue from holding Seats in Parliament and their ſubalterns from voting at elections, gain one ſtep towards a Reform of the Commons-Houſe.

The ſpawn dropped by each retiring Lord Lieutenant has encreaſed beyond all endurance, and the reſources of the country are inadequate to ſuſtain the ſwarm that infeſts every department. They cling together, "knot, and engender," and, having filled themſelves with the good things of the land, fall off, and are ſucceeded by others as foul and ravenous. Ireland reſembles the fox in the fable, who, having a ſore ſpot upon him, and being tormented by flies, was content to let them remain, leſt others, more greedy might ſucceed, and ſuck out all the blood that was left. The vermin we are plagued with are not only glutted, but they have depoſited their eggs where they are moſt likely to become productive, and they have burrowed in the conſtitution

tution of the ſtate till they have reduced it to a maſs of rottenneſs.

One of thoſe foreign peſts, imported by Lord Townſhend, has proved as great a curſe to this country as any that ever fell upon it. Recommended to that nobleman by a fawning ſubmiſſion, the characteriſtic of his countrymen, he "wormed" himſelf into his good graces, and, as Scotchmen ſeldom overlook the main-chance, this ſorry adventurer whoſe obſequiouſneſs firſt introduced him to notice, was thought a fit perſon to repreſent * *Jack Robinſon* in this country, and the RED-BOOK having been once committed to his cuſtody—no one ſooner learned the art of his myſtery. Placed in his nitch in the Houſe of Commons, this † "*living image of corruption*," night after night, ſat calculating the odds of the ſtate game of hazard, till at length he ſet up for himſelf, and by a lucky throw was eſtabliſhed in office. A villa was now purchaſed, with a true Caledonian forecaſt, for the convenience and repoſe of each new Lord Lieutenant; and, by the tender of accommodation and refreſhment at this his little Baiæ and a ſhrewd management of time and circumſtances, he ſo contrived it, as to be the

* This was the perſonage through whom Jenkinſon, and afterwards Pitt, diſpenſed the bounties of the treaſury to indigent members of Parliament.

† *Non meus hic ſermo*:—This portrait was drawn by the late Henry Flood, and the likeneſs is a ſtriking one.

humble

humble ſervant of each in his turn. By a judicious adaptation of trifles to their humours and inclinations, he flattered the vices and lulled the ſuſpicions of all;—even of the *chaſte* and *wary* Buckingham, who could not be prevailed on to diſmiſs his kind hoſt and friendly entertainer: and, in order to rivet this attachment the ſtronger, his children received in ſucceſſion the name of each new patron of their father's *virtues*; and Townſhend, Harcourt and Buckingham, by an happy climax, ſtand the family nomenclature*.

This is the minion who has crouched to every viceroy, and whom every viceroy has rewarded:—who has felt the pulſe of each needy ſenator, and, if indignant virtue ſpurned at the proffered bribe, has paſſed off the affront with the ſemblance of wine and the affectation of inebriated jocularity. Not content with accumulating wealth, and enriching himſelf by new loans and new lotteries, he has called, from the bleak and barren mountains of the North, his brawny and bare-legged kinsfolk;—for whom alſo he has amply provided.

That a fellow of this deſcription ſhould have enjoyed the fruits of his accommodating pliability, for a number of years, without enquiry or moleſtation, has been the diſgrace of your predeceſſors, and has deſervedly rendered them odious. The

* Has Mrs. * * * proved no longer prolific, or ſhall the name of Wentworth grace another bantling?

cup of iniquity which was nearly emptied before, and of which others had drank largely, it was reſerved for this man to exhauſt:—*Ille impiger hauſit ſpumantem pateram*—He has drained the chalice to the loweſt and the fouleſt—*lees*.

But the period is, I hope, arrived, when ſuch characters will be ſcrutinized, and a vigilant enquiry take place in a department which, being the depoſitory of national correſpondence, ought to be guarded as the ſanctuary of private opinion and public confidence. If any thing in a commercial country ſhould be more ſacred than another, it is the department where both repoſe ſecure in the good faith of government and the ſafeguard of the laws. A violation of that truſt is a ſtab inflicted not only on the intereſts of the ſtate, but on the liberty of the ſubject, and an inquiſition is eſtabliſhed in the very boſom of the conſtitution.

But, my Lord, if there are abuſes exiſting in public offices that demand redreſs—the manners of the court itſelf call not leſs loudly for reformation. The caſtle, inſtead of being the reſort of the firſt and faireſt characters in the land, has been deſerted, as a place impure, where no ſtaid foot ſhould enter, and our late *virtuous* Viceroy has been made the dupe of meretricious artifices. You, my Lord, have no depraved appetites to indulge, no concealed vices to gratify: the ſnug and convenient rendezvous, ſo commodious to another, is uſeleſs to you. Surrounded by

bleſſings

bleſſings, as you are, the pleaſures of domeſtic enjoyments will relieve the labours and the cares of office. The maternal fondneſs of your truly amiable and affectionate Counteſs will incline her to withdraw herſelf from the foul air engendered in thoſe apartments, ſo lately dedicated to the moſt ſhameleſs abandonment, and induce her to conſign a portion of her time and tenderneſs on the moral education of a ſon, on whom the hopes of his illuſtrious family repoſe. But, if the dignity of her ſtation demands a ſacrifice to faſhion and the ſplendour of Court etiquette, (the bane alike of domeſtic happineſs and the tranquil enjoyments of the heart) the pride of conſcious worth muſt ſupport her in the exerciſe of ſo ſevere a duty, and the dignified demeanour of the modeſt matron will repel the bold obtruſion of the faſhionable demirep.

My Lord, the filthy and obſcene vermin that have clung to, and defiled, the robe of office, *muſt* be bruſhed off, nor the purity of *your* houſhold be profaned by pimps and panders.—That licentiouſneſs, ſo diſgraceful to female character, baniſhed far, ſhould now retire, at leaſt from the Caſtle, and the repreſentative of his Sovereign appear as he ought, the protector of religion and the laws—the patron of merit, and himſelf the example of chaſte manners and correct morals.

I am, my Lord, &c.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

MY LORD,

I CANNOT too frequently inculcate the neceſſity of a TOTAL AND RADICAL REFORM; nor ſhould the man who wiſhes well to his country, and feels the preſſure of impending danger, ſhrink from a duty impoſed on every citizen in the ſtate, "to cry aloud and ſpare not,"—when he ſees the welfare of the whole put in jeopardy.—He affords himſelf at leaſt this conſolation in the hour of calamity—that he has done his duty. Believe me, my Lord, the friends of the people are the only peace-makers, and in order to obtain their entire confidence, the ſacrifice expected ſhould be unqualified—AN ENTIRE CHANGE OF MEN AND MEASURES.

It has been held an eſtabliſhed maxim in phyſicks as well as ethicks—that "a part ſhould be ſacrificed for the preſervation of the whole;" the rule applies equally to politics, and the axe ſhould be laid vigorouſly to the root of the evil. A corrupt portion has been divided—but the whole has not been eradicated, and while a ſingle ſucker from the

the old ſtock remains, new ſhoots may be expected to ſpring forth and impede the progreſs of cultivation. This ſacrifice, if it can be called one, is due, my Lord, to your own dignity, and the conſiſtency of your meaſures.

If thoſe placemen and penſioners, created by the breath of the plaſtic Buckingham, are not diſmiſſed—your adminiſtration will be blown upon.—If the regency jobs are to remain in *ſtatu quo*, the MAN OF THE PEOPLE will never coaleſce:—that man who has monopolized almoſt the whole of my admiration and eſteem, and has left but a ſecond place in my heart, for your Lordſhip and a few others.

Muſt I then ſee you for ever divided?—Shall the dereliction of a few contemptible individuals, foiſted on your bounty, make you heſitate in the adoption of this honourable cartel?—Will not your kindred mind expand to meet a diſintereſted propoſition, if ſuch propoſition has yet been conveyed to you,—from the man who has been the friend of your youth, and the aſſociate in your principles, and from whom an unhappy difference in opinion has politically ſevered you?—Unhappy to you, my Lord—but glorious for him.—Unhappy!—becauſe you have loſt the participation in ſo great a portion of his heroic ſufferings;—calumniated and reviled as he has been through the moſt infamous agency, and by the diſſemination of the moſt atrocious calumnies,

to excite and inflame the public mind againſt him.—Has he not ſaid, you ſhall have his beſt ſupport, provided you break in pieces the idol of inciviſm, demoliſh the ſhrine erected by the REGENCY BILL, and diſperſe the prieſts of Baal? Is this difficult to accede to, or muſt the temple of the conſtitution be defiled by freſh idolatries?—The ingenuous mind which ſhines apparent through his manly viſage is in this moſt luminous;—he can forget and forgive the friends who have forſaken him;—afford him an opportunity of amicable adjuſtment, and he will return to their embraces;—but cheriſh thoſe fanged adders, the progeny of Buckingham, and he cannot approach you. Regenerate the land to which you have been ſent, on an apoſtolic miſſion, by the expulſion of that reptile race it has ſo long nouriſhed, and WAR ſhall no longer divide you.

Suffer me, therefore, to point your attention to thoſe of the old leaven, who having ſupported his adminiſtration and been the avowed abettors of the Regency Bill, have either by addreſs, through family connection, or the interceſſion of friendſhip, ſtill retained their ſtations.—They have been the firſt to hail your arrival, and levee your ſecretary—but believe me, my Lord, when I ſay ſuch men are not to be confided in.

If a ſputtering and conſequential prater, a *prime* mover in ſtate mechaniſm—the coy and covert partiſan of that meaſure which aimed at the ſubverſion

verſion of the Sovereignty of Ireland, ſhould obtrude with a tender of his ſupport, and feigned congratulations—repel him with diſdain;—he poſſeſſed not the confidence of the party he *would* have ſerved, and he can neither be true, or neceſſary, to your adminiſtration.—Let him therefore be diſmiſſed;—his removal will make a vacancy for ſome, more congenial to your principles and the public at large—leave him to *ruminate*, at leiſure, his legal *quiddities*, and exerciſe his ſagacity in the detection of a flaw, or the dexterous management of a notice, a ſpecies of legerdemain no juggler can be more expert in.

Private regards have often been the bane of public benefits, and every human creature has been in his turn the dupe or victim of his predilections. It is perhaps this unfortunate, though not unamiable, infirmity, that has ſuſtained in office men unfit to ſit on the ſame bench, or participate in the ſame councils, with their patrons and protectors, and that has induced an interference which, though to be lamented, I cannot condemn with aſperity.—It reflects honor on the friend, while it diſcredits the Patriot.

It cannot but embarraſs the ſupporters of your adminiſtration to confer with a man whoſe clumſy faſtidiouſneſs was irkſome to his former friends, and muſt prove offenſive to his preſent aſſociates.—This his affected roughneſs is not, believe me, the homely garb in which honeſt worth arrays itſelf; it is the impoſing ſemblance of manners which have

has been accounted by the world,—the external ſign of ſtubborn and unaſſailable integrity, but which, nevertheleſs, conceals a ſhrewd and crafty knowledge of man's weakneſs, and a promptneſs and alacrity to profit by them.—A

" ——————————————fellow,
" Who, having been praiſed for bluntneſs, doth affect
" A ſaucy roughneſs; and conſtrains the garb,
" Quite from his nature:—he cannot flatter,—he!—
" An honeſt mind and plain:—*he* muſt ſpeak truth,
" And they will take it, ſo;—if not, he's plain.
" Theſe kind of knaves I know, which in this plainneſs
" Harbour more craft, and more corrupter ends,
" Than twenty ſilly ducking obſervants,
" That ſtretch their duties nicely."

The exception made in favour of this man, has been convenient, I admit, towards obtaining information; and, as the chief of the gang was ready to peach, it was prudent to reſpite him;—but, having extended that mercy—through neceſſity alone—you ſhould act towards him as I could wiſh all informers to be acted by;—ſuſpend him ſpeedily.

The enormous deficit in the public Revenues, which remains unexplained and unaccounted for, in a very few years, demands immediate Parliamentary enquiry; and the Treaſury-accounts have been ſo negligently kept, or are ſo wilfully defective, that no light has been thrown on the expenditure of the public money; nor have there been any documents brought forward, tending to explain, or elucidate the moſt flagrant defalcations; a purſuit

which

which even the financiering Buckingham, with all his arithmetical ſkill and accuracy, was forced to relinquiſh as hopeleſs.—Let me aſk, my Lord, in the name of juſtice, what has become of the defaulters?—Will no public functionary impeach?—Has no official character come forward to give evidence?—Are the whole gang faithful to each other?—Has conſcience, or ſelf-preſervation, dictated to no one of them the neceſſity of an open and immediate confeſſion?

Their uniform and total ſilence on a robbery of ſuch monſtrous magnitude, and daring depravity, evinces that they all were more, or leſs, "*participes in crimine*,"—and to a man they ſhould be cut off.

The Board of Treaſury was a novel inſtitution in this country; and, like moſt *modern improvements*, was calculated for patronage alone.—What reformation, give me leave to aſk, was made in the appropriation, or iſſuing, of the public money by thoſe noble Lords, ſo wiſe and diſintereſted?—Did they fill up the chaſms,—or even expoſe to view that immenſe *hiatus* that threatens to ſwallow up national credit?—No!—they ſat and were ſilent.—They were occupied, like the crafty Calonne, with inventing expedients to procraſtinate the calamity, or divert the public attention from the impending bankruptcy; they received their ſalaries, and paid their compliments to the Lord Lieutenant—and that was doing ſufficient.. I bluſh, with indignation, when I contemplate the

hardened and incorrigible effrontery of ſuch characters;—and the pen almoſt drops from my hand, when I come to ſtate the amount of this *deficit*, which in the courſe of fifteen or ſixteen years has ariſen—to—£.600,000—unaccounted for.—£.600,000 iſſued out of the Treaſury without a King's letter!—Sometimes unknown to the Lord Lieutenant, and without even his warrant—for what?—for nothing;—no ſpecific or appropriate object or purpoſe aſſigned or ſpecified; and now after the lapſe of fifteen or ſixteen years impoſſible to identify.—Great God!—Where has juſtice ſlept all this time?—How was patriotiſm and public virtue occupied?—and is it only *now*, that the people are to be told the dreadful truth?—Even the head of the Exchequer had not nerve enough, with all his boiſterous and clumſy materialiſm, to expoſe to public view the naked and impoveriſhed ſtate of national credit, and ſlunk to England to negociate a new loan—for what?——Shall I ſpeak out?—To pay the intereſt of Government ſecurities, fallen near 30 per cent. in their value!—

If ſomething be not done, and that ſpeedily, I know not where this enormity will end.—We have been borrowing money, and contracting loans at a vaſt premium, to pay the intereſt of former debts; and, having mortgaged the laſt acre of the national demeſne, Ireland muſt ſend her harp to the pawn-broker, if juſtice does not interpoſe between her and her creditors.——Yet we are

plauſibly

plauſibly told, " there is money enough in the " Treaſury to anſwer all poſſible demands—that " England owes £100,000 for military payments, " and therefore—" Ireland is in Credit!"—" tho' £1,600,000, is propoſed to be raiſed by " loan, excluſive of taxes, at 5 per cent. intereſt " and an annuity."*—And this is the way in which Ireland is proved to be in CREDIT! This is demonſtration with a vengeance;—and appears to me a ſingular mode of proving the proſperity of the country,—becauſe a few Jew-brokers and money-lenders have been induced, by the offer of an annuity, to redeem the nation from immediate bankruptcy.

If that power and patronage, which I am inclined to think you poſſeſs, has been granted unconditionally, how happens it, my Lord, that the perſons I have deſcribed are continued in office—and that many others of inferior note keep their places, and enjoy their ſalaries, while ſome of the ſteadieſt and moſt uniform oppoſers of their corrupt influence, remain unprovided for?—I ſpeak not of thoſe hungry mendicants, who cluſter round every new viceroy, in hopes of ſtate ſcraps and the ſweepings of office; nor yet of thoſe importunate retainers who croud the anti-chamber;—an hireling band, the ſcum

* *Vide* Chancellor of the Exchequer's Statement on opening the Budget.

and

and refuſe of former adminiſtrations;—But of thoſe men who have heretofore inveighed with honeſt indignation againſt profligacy and peculation;—who are too independent to crouch—too proud to ſolicit.—Such men ſhould not be repelled by coldneſs or neglect, nor their ſervices loſt to the public, through any ſqueamiſh qualm, or dubious procraſtination. The deſperate effort of a dying junto, goaded by raſhneſs and led on by folly, muſt be oppoſed with ſteadineſs and ſtrength, and this forlorn hope, cut off from all intellectual ſuccour, can make but a feeble reſiſtance againſt the united powers of reaſon and eloquence.—The loſs of a true friend is irreparable; neglect may alienate the beſt intentioned; let it not therefore, be ſaid, that like Brutus, friendſhip gave the blow.

I know your Lordſhip's intentions are the beſt and pureſt;—virtue and honor it is true may heſitate; but when *ſecrecy and celerity* ſhould be made the order of the day, neither preference ſhould be permitted to plead, nor execution be procraſtinated.—Strike the victims while they are yet reeking from their abominations, and taken with the *manner* upon them; nor by an irreſolute poſtponement of the ſentence—ſuffer themto meditate and contrive additional enormities.—

My Lord, the length of this letter warns me that it is time to conclude, before I exhauſt your

your patience, or weaken my own reſources; the hints I have given may help to guide you through the devious paths of this political wilderneſs.—You will, I am convinced, act with the ſame temperate and ſteady conduct, that has marked you out, in troublous times like the preſent, as a fit perſon to govern this country; and we may hope to ſee the ſun of your adminiſtration ſet ſerene and unclouded by the lowerings of diſcontent and diſſatisfaction.

I am, my Lord, &c.

LETTER

LETTER V.

MY LORD,

THE unpromiſing aſpect of affairs on the Continent, and the late diſaſtrous turn they have taken, force me, however reluctant, to addreſs to you a few obſervations on that ſubject;—a ſubject of the laſt importance to this country, and on which I but ſlightly touched in a former letter, aware of your Lordſhip's opinions on that head, and fearful to wound a ſenſibility, which, I knew, was as prompt to acknowledge an error, as it was ready to puniſh the violation of humanity, by which it had been occaſioned. It was that extreme delicacy of mental fibre, that hurried you into the approbation of a War, I admit, waged againſt a people, ferocious and ſanguinary in the firſt paroxyſms of their reſentment, and polluted by the blood of their unhappy Sovereign. It was ſympathy at the fate of his unfortunate Queen, and the amiable Elizabeth, that kept alive the vengeance which was hurled againſt their executioners; and in the contemplation of *their* ſufferings, you forgot, my Lord, thoſe of your country: but

but "what was Hecuba to us, or we to Hecuba, that we ſhould *bleed* for her?" And where was reaſon and humanity, when the deſtroying angel was let looſe, and the miniſter pronounced it a war, *ad internecionem?*——A war that has laid waſte the faireſt provinces of the earth, and ſwept away with unrelenting fury, a large portion of the human race, amongſt which was the flower of your countrymen.—A war of opinions.—A war that has changed its aſpect with the event of every ſkirmiſh, and of which miniſters know not, at this day, the object or the motive: though our armies have been beaten and are melted away, and our commerce has has been injured, nay, almoſt annihilated;—though our country has been menaced with hoſtile invaſion, and each Gazette is the chronicle of foreign loſſes and defeats, and of domeſtic ſorrows and private bankruptcies;—in fine, a war, which has overturned eſtabliſhed principles and eſtabliſhed governments; and in which fate and the elements ſeem to have fought againſt us.——In ſuch a perplexing uncertainty, the mind of the devout, unable to unravel ſo novel and complicated a chain of circumſtances, cuts the Gordian knot—by recurring to the myſterious deſignations of an all-ruling providence, and the chaſtiſements of the Almighty!!!—But the eye of philoſophy, not filled with myſtic reveries, applies its powers to inveſtigate the natural order of events, by recurring to *firſt* principles; coolly analyzes the heterogeneous maſs,—contemplates from an elevated

vated diſtance, the jarring opinions of mankind;—ſurveys the heaving chaos, ſtruggling into form, and unimpaſſioned views the moral change,—as far as man can view diſpaſſionately, a ſeries of events, each day ſtart forth ſo intereſting to humanity.

But, my Lord, the firſt impreſſion of indignation having ſubſided; let me hope that the intereſts of your native country, as well as the welfare of that to which you are now affianced, will prevail over human frailty;—let me hope that the man and the chriſtian having done their duty, and a tear being wiped from the eye of compaſſion, that the veil may be withdrawn, which obſcured the viſion of the mourner.—For the period is now arrived, when neither human pity, nor human effort to relieve, can aught avail. The victims are ſlain,—and the grave cannot give up its dead.—Let us therefore, look to *ourſelves*, and contemplate, with a cool and unprejudiced mind, what part we are now called upon to act.

The diviſion of parties in England, I do not heſitate to declare, procraſtinated the war; and the pretext ſet up to gloſs over its continuance, namely, the navigation of the Scheldt, not only loſt Holland and the Netherlands, but has beſtowed on Great-Britain, by a reciprocation of civilities, the honor of maintaining the Houſe of Orange, which ſhe before gave to France, in the perſon of

of James when a voluntary exile—and we too may participate with her in generoſity, by having the Stadtholder a penſioner on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment.

This war whoſe uncertain ſource and devious progreſs, like the waters of Nile, have heretofore baffled our reſearch, "*occuluitque caput quod adhuc latet*;" like her coy fountains, took its riſe from an humble origin, and, as the traveller who aſtounded by its cataracts, his mind raiſed to admiration by the expanſion of its boſom, expects to view it iſſuing in foaming torrents from ſome ruptured mountain,—or ſwelling in majeſtic fulneſs from ſome mighty lake, ſees, with ſurprize, a ſhallow opening, and a ſcanty rill cover the land and fructify all Egypt. So we, contemplating the devaſtations of this war, and the importance of its termination—look in vain, to broken treaties and the intereſts of great empires for its origin.—For its conſequences—alas! have we felt them too ſeverely already.—In vain, have we ſcanned the vaſt map of partition;—in vain have we contemplated the *Balance of Power*;—in that we could find no encroachment of limits,—in this, the beam ſtands horizontal and unſhaken.—

No,—it originated with one man;—an enthuſiaſtic declaimer for chivalry, who, like Peter the hermit, concealed under a Jeſuit's cowl a rancorous and unforgiving temper; and a pertinacious adherence to opinions engendered in the receſſes of a cloiſter, and brought to maturity by

the heat of a fanciful and diſordered imagination. Hence this modern Cruſade, that has ſtained with blood and carnage all Europe, and immolated on the altar of female beauty, depicted by the hand of our modern Apelles, myriads of humanvictims—an offering at the ſhrine of his favourite ſaint—the beauteous and unhappy Marie Antoinette!!—

In ſpeaking of this unfortunate princeſs, who has called forth all Mr. Burke's eloquence, and made him forget his years,—let me not be ſuppoſed to ridicule or inſult the memory of fallen greatneſs; or, by a brutal ſarcaſm, violate the aſhes of her, who once had every requiſite to charm and whoſe misfortunes muſt awaken all our ſympathy.——No! unhappy Antoinette, your beauties and your ſufferings, which once called forth my admiration and my tears, live impreſſed on my memory, and your errors are obliterated from my recollection, when I reflect on the ſevere expiation you have made.

But the furious and ſanguinary atonement demanded by Mr. Burke, argues a mind diſeaſed, and adds to the number of his political inconſiſtencies*—What!—the humane philanthropiſt—the

* The author of the celebrated Letter on the French Revolution—and the advocate of Monarchy, in the debate on the addreſs to the Prince of Wales during the King's incapacity, 27th January 1789,—uſed theſe memorable expreſſions, characteriſtic of his loyalty and highly illuſtrative of his ſubſequent conduct—" If he were aſked did he hate a *Republican ſpeculation*, he could anſwer no—*he loved, he revered,—he adored the*

Indian interceſſor! whoſe active and unwearied humanity neither ſlumbered nor ſlept when offended juſtice demanded his aſſiſtance; who exhauſted the midnight lamp in framing charges and compoſing Phillipics, againſt a modern Verres, that were to ſend him down to poſterity, ranked with Demoſthenes and Cicero!!—The friend of Afric and emancipation—exhauſting his powers in the purſuit of one daring offender, yet forgetful of the ſufferings of his country;—labouring to bring *one* victim to juſtice by a lingering and painful examination, and inflicting on his haraſſed mind the tortures of a State-Inquiſitor;—while the rights of Magna Charta were violated, to ſtretch him on the rack. Yet ſending, in cold blood, and diſpaſſionately, *thouſands* of his country-men, to bleed in the cauſe of a Sovereign to whom *he* had ſworn no allegiance; and enliſting himſelf under the banners of a man whom he had been accuſtomed to revile, for the ſole purpoſe of ſubduing Frenchmen!!———Throwing off the companions of his youth, and the friends of his political fortunes, to ſupport a miniſter who had uniformly

the true principles of a Republic—"*Oh Republic!*" exclaimed Mr. Burke, "*how art thou libelled—how art thou proſtituted, buffooned and burleſqued!*—Oh! fabric, built after ſo many ages, and cemented by the blood of patriots, how art thou degraded, &c. !!!

treated

treated *him* with * deriſion and contempt, and held him up as a maniac and a dotard to the world; and, finally, receiving the reward of his duplicity, by accepting a penſion from his Sovereign, whom he had formerly attempted to ſtarve, † in his rage for economy; and whom he pronounced to have been "hurled by God from his throne," ‡ while ſuffering an incapacity that intereſted the feelings of all Europe.—Yet that Sovereign has been inſulted by the introduction of this man into his cabinet, whoſe madneſs, or whoſe folly, recommended a war of extermination againſt human reaſon and the human race.

Though I lament the domeſtic loſſes and diſappointments of an individual, perhaps amiable in private life; and though it may appear ungenerous to goad the heart already ſtricken by providence in the loſs of an only child; yet when I conſider the fathers that have loſt *their* ſons, and the mothers that have wept over their firſt-born, in the progreſs of this accurſed war, and look back on the adviſers of it, the ſorrows of

* In the debate on the King's ſpeech, when the Marquis of Lanſdown was Miniſter, and Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer, the latter declared that he *deſpiſed* Burke, and that expreſſion became the ſignal for a general and unremitting abuſe.—Yet Burke coaleſces in 1794, with the man who had declared publickly his contempt of him.

† Alluding to Burke's bill for retrenchment and economy in the houſhold.

‡ This memorable expreſſion on the Regency bill needs no comment.

the

the individual are obliterated from my mind by the tears of thouſands, and, in the univerſal execration of mankind, I no longer hear the broken ſighs of the hoary politician, who loſt ſight of ſuch accumulated horrors, in the purſuit of a ruling paſſion, or the vanity of upholding an opinion. Trained up from his youth in the doctrines of infallibility, and bred and educated in the ſchool of rigid and ſtrict diſcipline,—a Church-militant, from his cradle, and accuſtomed to obey the general of his order;—his reveries ran on diſcipline and military tactics, and his firſt eſſay has proved the deſtruction of thouſands of his fellow creatures!!!

Mr. Burke has been accounted a man of reading;—where did he find examples to warrant the commencement of ſuch a war, or authorities to ſupport it? I will call to his recollection, if it be not too much broken and enfeebled, like his wit, the opinions of ſome ſtateſmen and philoſophers, on this important queſtion.

Permit me, therefore, my Lord, to ſtate a few authorities, which ſeem to have been neglected, or forgotten, in the general and unreflecting enthuſiaſm of the times, and which Mr. Pitt, ſtateſman as he is, appears never to have peruſed or heard of, againſt the political PRINCIPLE, that ſhould ever deter a *commercial country*, *being an inſulated maritime ſtate*, *from entering into a continental war*, like the preſent.

Great-

" Great-Britain is an iſland: and whilſt nations
" on the continent are at an immenſe charge in
" maintaining their barriers, and perpetually on
" their guard, and frequently embroiled to ex-
" tend or ſtrengthen them, Great-Britain may,
" if her governors pleaſe, accumulate wealth in
" maintaining her's; make herſelf ſecure from
" invaſions, and be ready to invade others, when
" her own immediate intereſt or the general intereſt
" of Europe requires it; of all which Queen
" Elizabeth's reign is a memorable example and
" undeniable proof."*

Where, my Lord, was the *general intereſt* of Europe concerned? Or what principle of policy called on us to riſque our commercial advantages in the proſecution of ſuch a cruſade?—*If our wiſe governors had pleaſed*, we might have been the carriers to all the reſt of Europe; England, as the great depot of military ſtores and proviſions, might have maintained an armed neutrality, and after having ſtrengthened and enriched herſelf at the expence of the belligerent powers,—might have aſſerted her ſuperiority—wielded her trident over the ocean and commanded peace.—This would have elevated her in the eyes of ſurrounding nations, made her the emporium of Commerce and arbitreſs to all Europe. If the *balance of power*, ſo much talked of and ſo little underſtood, was to be preſerved at any riſk, why did not the

* Idea of a Patriot King.

Britiſh Flag wave triumphant on the ſhores of the Baltic?—A naval force might have apalled the Semiramis of the North, and obliged her to check her ambitious progreſs. Why were not our fleets and armies employed in a better cauſe? —Poland, ſnatched from the talons of the Black Eagle, had then gratefully acknowledged her obligations to Great-Britain.

While Catharine invaded the Crimea, with an army of Coſſacks, and Oczakow was taken by aſſault, while the Ottoman Porte trembled for the fate of Conſtantinople,—and her creſcent was died in blood;—England remained an unconcerned ſpectator, and ſaw that vaſt empire expand itſelf from the Frozen ocean to the Black ſea.—

We negociated, it is true, with Pruſſia, and aſſembled a fleet at Spithead, which was to awe the northern deſpot at Peterſburgh; but this impotent armament ended in gaſconade, and has affixed on Pitt—the epithet beſtowed on him by the dying Mirabeau.—" *Miniſtre preparitif.*"

This *balance of power* then, which has coſt England ſo much blood and treaſure to preſerve, is at an end, and experience has ſhewn, that a ſyſtem founded on the vague ſpeculations of wild theoriſts, is as little calculated to maintain tranquillity among nations, as the Carteſian vortices were to account for the phenomena of Nature, and the revolutions of the Planets. A great volcano had exploded, and, inſtead of removing from the eruption and the ſmoak,—till its fury was ſpent,

and

and the torrents of Lava, that had threatened devaſtation, began to ſubſide and fertilize the ſoil they had covered,—we ruſh to the very mouth of the crater, through a prying curioſity, or an experimental rage; and, by a frantic precipitation or a fooliſh philoſophy, have incapacitated ourſelves from enjoying the advantages of our own local ſituation, or aſſiſting and ſupporting the cauſe of our allies.

It was our own intereſt—"to adviſe and warn; to abet and oppoſe;" and not, "officiouſly, to enter "into action, much leſs into engagements that im- "plied action and expence."—We ſhould have left other nations, "like the Velites or light-armed troops, "to ſtand foremoſt in the field and ſkirmiſh per- "petually; but when a great war began, we "ſhould have looked on, like the powers of the "continent, to whom we incline, like the two "firſt lines, the Principes and Haſtati of a Ro- "man army: and on ourſelves like the Triarii, "that are not to charge with theſe Legions on "every occaſion, but to be ready for the conflict "whenever the fortune of the day, be it ſooner "or later, called us to it, or the *ſum* of things, "or the *general* intereſt, made it neceſſary.*"

This my Lord, was the true policy which ſhould have been adopted.—Had the diſpaſſionate and cool authority been conſulted, which I have juſt now quoted in the abſtract, and applied to the

* Idea of a Patriot King.

preſent

preſent ſyſtem of politicks, Chauvelin had not been diſmiſſed with hauteur; nor the treaty of *Pilnitz* been the æra from which we are to date all our calamities.—That accurſed treaty, ſo ſecretly negociated, and which, like a meditated aſſaſſination, ſhunned the day, was the fatal rock on which the policy of the miniſter ſtruck, and the intereſts of the nation were wrecked upon.—"That miniſter "who, as a politician is "too *vain* to think coolly; too *impetuous* to *deli-* "*berate*, and whoſe caſe will one day prove (pray "Heaven the application may not be prophetic) "that the *ſummit* of Fortune's wheel is moſt dan- "gerous, whilſt thoſe who ſit near its axis are "ſecure and eaſy."*—That wheel, whoſe revolutions, for three years paſt, has brought nothing but misfortune and defeat, may now be expected to take another turn, if we will but open our eyes to ſurrounding dangers, and, before it be too late, impede its rapid progreſs. The hand which gave it the firſt direction and *impetus*, you, my Lord, cannot remove; but it is, nevertheleſs, in your power to weaken its force, by the wiſdom of your councils and the energy of your adminiſtration. It can never be too late to retract an error, and I am ſure it will never be your intereſt or inclination, by increaſing the diſorder, to impede the cure, and, by adding obſtinacy to impolicy, bar the door againſt reconci-

* Burton's character of the Ancients.

liation.—For, reconciliation is yet within our reach, if we uſe thoſe means towards obtaining peace, upon honorable terms, for ourſelves, which we might have exerted in mediating for others. "That was the poſt of advantage and honor, "which our ſingular ſituation among the powers "of Europe ſhould have determined us to take, "in all diſputes that happened on the continent. "If we neglect and diſſipate our ſtrength, on "occaſions that touch it remotely or indirectly, "we are governed by men who do not know "the true intereſts of theſe iſlands, or who have "ſome *other intereſt* more at heart. If we ad-"here to it, ſo, at leaſt, as to deviate little and "ſeldom from it, as we ſhall do when we are "wiſely and honeſtly governed, *then* will this "nation make her proper figure;—and a great "one it will be. By a continual attention to "improve her natural, that is, her *maritime* "ſtrength, by collecting all her forces *within* "herſelf, and reſerving them to be laid out on "great occaſions, ſuch as regard her *immediate* "intereſts and her power, or ſuch as are truly "important to the general ſyſtem of power in "Europe; ſhe may be the arbiter of differences, "the guardian of liberty, and the preſerver of "that *balance* ſo much talked of, and ſo little "underſtood."*

* Idea of a Patriot King.

This

This my Lord, would indeed have been the true policy;—how Burke and Pitt overlooked it I cannot divine. They had perhaps—" *other* " *intereſts more at heart.*" What they might have been I ſhall treat of hereafter, and relinquiſhing the conſideration of thoſe remote cauſes which led to this deteſtable war, for the preſent, reſume the ſubject in another letter.—'Till when, I remain—

My Lord, &c.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

MY LORD,

IN the concluſion of my laſt letter, I was led to ſuppoſe that thoſe perſons who were moſt zealous for the continuance of the war, had "other inte-"reſts more at heart," than the commercial advantages and general welfare of the nation. And I was fortified in the ſuppoſition, not only by the abſtract policy that *ſhould* govern a maritime ſtate, in avoiding a continental war; fortified as I was by a current of authorities:—but by the diſaſters and defeats which happened during its continuance, that have, in my mind, eſtabliſhed the general maxim, beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, or the danger of a contradiction.—Nay, the authorities I have alluded to ſupport me ſtill farther, and I feel myſelf warranted by them in ſaying, that had England ſucceeded in her efforts againſt France, the wounds ſhe had received during the conflict, in her finances and commerce, had ſcarcely been healed in a century;—as was the caſe during all her wars on the continent, and lately in that with America.

Though

Though the *pride* of the nation might have been gratified, and a few individuals enriched by her conqueſts and their contracts, the general maſs of citizens muſt have participated in the ruin occaſioned by ſo ſevere a ſhock on public credit.

" England," ſays an ingenious and philoſophic French writer, " is always impoveriſhed by " war,—even when ſhe is moſt ſucceſsful againſt " the naval armies of France; and owes all her " grandeur to her commerce." And he ſupports his poſition by this inevitable concluſion: " That among the European nations, war, after " a certain term of years, reduces the conqueror " to the ſame diſtreſs as the conquered. It is a " gulph that ſwallows up all the channels of " plenty. Ready money,—that principle of all " good and all evil, levied with ſo much difficulty " (in the provinces) flows into the coffers of an " hundred ſtock-jobbers and farmers of the " revenue, who advance the ſums demanded " by the State, and by theſe advances gain the " privilege of plundering the nation, in the name " of the Sovereign. The people, in conſequence of " this, regarding the government as their enemy, " conceal their wealth, and want of circu- " lation throws the nation into a languiſhing " condition."*

* Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV. Book II.

This,

This, my Lord, muſt ever be the caſe, and we, alas! have too fatally experienced it. Our funds have fallen below any thing known in former wars; and emigration and bankruptcy have been the conſequences.—"We muſt ſtand or fall with Great-Britain;"—a ſevere maxim of reciprocity! which, ſhould blindneſs or inſanity ſtill urge the conflict, muſt eventually prove our ruin.—

The ſinews of war have been ſtrengthened and ſupplied, by drafts from this country and ſo prolific has ſhe been in this particular, that I conſider myſelf moderate in the computation, when I ſay above 120,000 men have been ſupplied by her, during the laſt three years, to aſſiſt Great-Britain. Yet, when a French fleet appeared but five leagues off our coaſt, and a ſupply wasſolicited—we were deſired to "raiſe men on our own eſtabliſhment;"—at a moment too, when, by an additional act of imprudent generoſity, we voted £.200,000 as a ſupply to man her Navy, without any ſtipulation for a return of protection.—This then, is the Nation for whom we have combated, and this the recompence for our profuſion of expenditure.—Ought not this freſh inſtance of neglect, or imbecility, rouſe us to a ſenſe of our preſent danger, and ſtimulate our exertions towards averting the moſt dire of all calamities.—

"As

" As war is the laſt of remedies,—*cuncta prius*
" *tentanda*," ſays the illuſtrious Dr. Johnſon, " all
" lawful expedients ſhould be uſed to avoid it. As
" war is the extremity of evil, it is ſurely the duty of
" thoſe whoſe ſtation intruſts them with the care
" of Nations, to avert it from their charge.
" There are diſeaſes of animal nature which
" nothing but amputation can remove: ſo there
" may, by the depravation of human paſſions, be
" ſometimes a gangrene in collective life, for
" which fire and ſword are the neceſſary reme-
" dies; but in what can ſkill or caution be
" better ſhewn, than preventing ſuch dreadful
" operations, while there is yet room for gentler
" methods? The wars of civilized nations
" make very ſlow changes in the ſyſtem of em-
" pire. The public perceives ſcarcely any altera-
" tion but an encreaſe of debt; and the few
" individuals who are benefited, are not ſuppoſed
" to have the cleareſt right to theſe advantages.
" If he that ſhared the danger, enjoyed the
" profit, and, after bleeding in the battle, grew
" rich by the victory; he might ſhew his gains
" without envy. But at the concluſion of a ten
" years war, how are we recompenſed for the
" death of multitudes, and the expence of mil-
" lions, but by contemplating the ſudden glories
" of paymaſters and agents, contractors and
" commiſſaries, whoſe equipages ſhine like mete-
" ors, and whoſe palaces riſe like exhalations.—

Theſe

" Theſe are the men, who, without virtue, " labour, or hazard, are growing rich as their " country is impoveriſhed; they rejoice when " *obſtinacy* or *ambition* adds another year to " ſlaughter and devaſtation; and laugh from " their deſks at bravery and ſcience, while they " are adding figure to figure, and cypher to " cypher, hoping for a new contract from a new " armament, and computing the profits of a " ſiege or of a tempeſt."*

I have tranſcribed this entire paſſage, for the edification of Meſſrs. Burke and Pitt, they can, no doubt, purge themſelves from the foul charge of *obſtinacy* or *ambition*;—and their conduct has proved, that they could have *no intereſts more at heart* than the proſperity of the country. You, my Lord, ſtand acquitted " *in foro conſcientiæ*" and I believe, from my ſoul, that you foreſaw not the conſequences which were likely to follow the firſt fatal miſtake. The diſmiſſal of Chauvelin, I repeat, was that falſe ſtep, which, like the firſt indiſcretion of a female character, was not to be retrieved.—Since that period, blunder has followed blunder, and miſtake been added to miſtake. What a miſerable predicament has that one error plunged us in!—We muſt either be inconſiſtent with our former declarations,—" not to treat with the preſent exiſting government of France,"—or

* Johnſon's Falkland's Iſlands P. 106-7.

be

be driven to the neceſſity of riſking our laſt guinea, and our laſt life.

It was the rejection of an authoriſed Envoy from the NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE, ſpeaking the ſenſe of its conſtituents;—it was that haughty contempt of his perſon and miſſion, that inflamed the reſentments of an high-minded people, whoſe ſpirits were kindled into enthuſiaſm by recent ſucceſſes, and who conſidered the nation inſulted in the perſon of its miniſter. Yes,—it was the diſmiſſal of Chauvelin that brought Louis to the ſcaffold;—it was our refuſal to treat, that ſtirred up the Gallic ſpirit to reſiſt.

They came, ſubmiſſive, to court our friendſhip and alliance; and ſought the fraternity of a free nation, whoſe example had led them to independence and whoſe conſtitution they had, in part, adopted.—We rejected the ſuitor with diſdain, and proudly arrogated to ourſelves the right of dictating the form of government to be adopted by a nation compoſed of TWENTY FIVE MILLIONS OF FREEMEN!!

France beheld herſelf hemmed in, as it were, and ſurrounded by a formidable confederacy, eager to ruſh forward, in hopes of certain conqueſt, and anxious to divide the ſpoil. Already had her faireſt provinces been partitioned; and England, Auſtria, Spain, and Pruſſia had their dividends aſſigned.—The project failed:—We miſ-calculated their reſources,—and, though ambitious to interfere with their internal government, we knew not their internal ſtrength. The

efforts of a great nation, ſurrounded by enemies and menaced with captivity and chains, are like thoſe of a lion in the toils, formidable, and often fatal to his hunters:—and France, had her capital been invaded, would, probably, like the captive Danite, have brought ruin on the heads of her ſpoilers.

The retreat of the Duke of Brunſwick ſhould have opened our eyes and convinced us of our error. Deceived by falſe rumours, and the miſrepreſentations of men who had abandoned their country, who had by that abdication loſt their all; and who, therefore, were intereſted in the removal of every obſtacle that lay in the way of a reſumption of their property, which could only be atchieved by the conqueſt of France,—Brunſwick incautiouſly entered Champaigne, and found, too late, that he had been deceived.—His army were attacked by famine and diſeaſe, and the French levies, which he expected to have flocked to his ſtandard, exiſted only in the imaginations of the Emigrant Chiefs.

That moment was fatal to the cauſe of the Allies, and the precipitate retreat of the fineſt body of troops in the world, which the Great Frederick had himſelf diſciplined, and which he had ſo often led on to conqueſt and to glory, infuſed freſh courage into the forces of the Republic.——Dumourier advanced towards the Netherlands, and the memorable battle of Jamappe, ſhewed us what ſort of enemies we had to contend with. The "*joieux entre*" into Paris, was put off to another Campaign; and the avowed

avowed object of the war—changed for the protection of Holland, and our *faithful* allies, the Dutch.

Dumourier, in the zenith of conqueſt, and in the midſt of his career—turned traitor and fled;——his genius, like that of Brutus, forſook him; and the bright halo, which glory had wreathed around his brow, vaniſhed at the touch of *gold;*—it could atchieve no more: his army continued true to the cauſe in which they had embarked, and their leader eſcaped with difficulty.—This too was a moment for reflection; and here we ſhould have made a pauſe.—But "*obſtinacy and ambition*" were anxious to "add another year to ſlaughter and devaſtation."——*Avarice* recollected that ſhe had large ſums in the Dutch funds, her principal was there, and the intereſt of her money, was the "*intereſt* ſhe had moſt at heart."—In this ſpeculation the miniſter was alſo deceived.

The authority of the Stadtholder had been declining from the period in which the Duke of Brunſwick began his march into Holland;—the people were averſe to his government, and only waited for an opportunity of freeing themſelves from the yoke of the Houſe of Orange. Their diſcontents were more than uſually expreſſed, upon the queſtion of opening the navigation of the Scheldt, and nothing could have maintained the dominion of the reigning family at that period, but the interpoſition of the Duke of Brunſwick and an alliance with Pruſſia.—The reſiſtance of their Belgic neighbours, to the controul of the Empire,

and

and the ambitious views of Joſeph, infuſed, likewiſe, amongſt them a ſpirit of independence, and they anxiouſly expected the arrival of the French as their deliverers.——The flight of Hope from Amſterdam ſpoke emphatically the ſentiments of the people, and miniſters ſhould have had ſagacity enough to have made the moſt of that circumſtance, by withdrawing our forces from a quarter where they were conſidered as officious interlopers, and in which, when occaſion offered, we might expect thoſe whom we profeſſed to protect, moſt indignant at our interference, and ready to turn their arms againſt us.

The abdication of the Stadtholder, and the union of the two Republics, have formed a bloodleſs epoch in times of ſanguinary revolution, and evince that the *protection* held out to the Dutch, with ſuch barefaced and oſtentatious knight-errantry, was nothing more than a pretext to afford it to the Houſe of Naſſau. Here too, the ſame blundering inconſiſtency—the ſame crooked policy that dictated an offenſive war to oblige TWENTY FIVE MILLIONS OF FREEMEN to alter their government and reſume their chains, failed; when the protection of an ally became the oſtenſible motive, and we ſtood, as it were, on the defenſive!——

We muſt therefore turn back to the other alledged motives, this one having failed us, and conſider what probability there is of attaining any one of the objects of the preſent conteſt,—namely, The RESTORATION OF ROYALTY in France, after the death

death of the unfortunate King;—RESISTANCE TO THE PROGRESS OF REPUBLICANISM;—PREVENTION OF DISSEMINATION OF JACOBIN PRINCIPLES AT HOME—and the fulfilment of *ſecret engagements* entered into abroad with foreign powers, by the TREATY OF PILNITZ.——That theſe were the profeſſed objects of the war, we may collect from the avowal of the miniſter.—Why he found it neceſſary, ſo often, to change his ground, or how he had been ſo baffled in every one of them, remains for inveſtigation.—For the preſent, I ſhall confine myſelf to *his own* ſtatement, and ſee how far *his own* objects and inferences bear him out.

In the debate on the King's Speech, in January 1794, the miniſter declared—that "the ſyſtem adopted by the French had developed principles deſtructive to the general order of Society, and ſubverſive of all regular governments."—That—"the French themſelves, with a view of extending their ſyſtem, had been guilty of *uſurpation on the territories of other States.*"—That "they had diſcovered *hoſtile* intentions againſt Holland,"—and "had diſcloſed views of aggrandiſement and ambition entirely new, in extent and importance; and menacing, in their progreſs, not only the *independence* of Great-Britain, but the ſecurity of Europe."—

To ſubdue a country like France, ſo extenſive and populous, for the purpoſe of reſtoring the family of Bourbon to the throne, of which they had been deprived by the voice of an armed Nation,

Nation, was as wild and chimerical a notion as ever entered into the mind of man.—For, relinquiſhing the argument of abſtract policy and general commercial intereſt, as operating againſt it,—I cannot but look on it in the light I do, when I conſider that by effectuating that purpoſe, ſuppoſing it probable, Great-Britain had embarked in a war, not tending to territorial acquiſition, which ſhould never be her object, or the advancement of her commercial concerns, but to reſtore a line of ſucceſſion which had ever been the avowed and natural enemies of her empire, and through whoſe interference ſhe had loſt America.——A family whoſe ambitious views, and inſatiable avidity, had involved us in a ſeries of continental wars and loaded and oppreſſed us with accumulated debts and difficulties.

But the progreſs of *Republicaniſm* was to be checked, at all hazards, and *Jacobin principles* eradicated;—becauſe they might find their way into theſe countries, and endanger the ſafety of the Britiſh Conſtitution!!—Can any thinking man ſuppoſe for a moment, that a people newly re-generated, and feeling the firſt rays of freedom pervade their minds, grown torpid through oppreſſion,—ſhould, relinquiſhing the great concerns they were engaged in, prepare to diſtract and annoy a free government, whoſe example they were ambitious of following, till reſiſtance and contempt had alienated their hearts from us?—Was there no other mode of repelling *Jacobin principles* and preventing their baleful influence,—

but

but by ſending off the flower of our armies to invade France, inſtead off keeping them at home to protect England? Why did we become the aſſailants, and raſhly enter into an offenſive war with an *armed nation*, when we had ſo little to fear from a deſcent on our coaſts, had they been kept at home?

But, we had entered into *ſecret negociations*, and the honor of the ſtate was pledged.—What! enter into treaties with arbitrary ſtates, to protect the purity of the Britiſh Conſtitution, and, by annexing territory to their domains, ſecure the independence of Great-Britain!

Where my Lord, give me leave to aſk, was the evidence of any ſerious attempt to introduce thoſe execrated principles! Are the records of the Old-Baily filled with the black catalogue of theſe apprehended conſpiracies? Could the adminiſtration in England, after the moſt ſedulous induſtry, convict one glaring offender, or even produce a particle of evidence to charge any individual with treaſonable practices?—No!—Complaints made againſt exiſting grievances, and meaſures propoſed for the redreſs of them, were the only ſpecies of rebellion againſt the exiſting government. Yet we are gravely told,—" peace cannot be negotiated while theſe principles are propagated;"—and the miniſter moſt unequivocally declared that " the moment would never arrive, " when he would not think *any* alternative pre- " ferable to that of peace with France, upon the " ſyſtem of its then rulers!"—Since the period of that *humane* declaration, the exiſting govern-

ment

ment in France *has* been changed, the ſyſtem o terror has yielded to *moderatiſm*, and the Jacobin club is no more.—The enemy have, indeed, *evacuated the territory of France*, and the door of reconciliation is ſtill open. Yet, inſtead of ſeizing this turn of events, as a favourable moment in which to treat, while there is yet no decree of the Convention in force to prevent negociation,—we prepare to ſubſidize the Emperor, and invade France, once more, with an army of 200,000 Auſtrians!

Thus, in purſuit of a chimera, as wild and as diſtant as the former,—England is drained of TWO MILLIONS of money, not paid by inſtalments, as was the caſe with our *diſintereſted* and *honorable* Ally of Pruſſia, in order to ſecure the performance of the ſtipulation;—but handed over at once, and in one groſs ſum,—to abide every riſque, without any guarantee whatever for the due performance of the covenant.

This, I confeſs, appears rather a ſingular mode of ſecuring the independence of Great-Britain and repelling invaſion from her coaſts, by preparing to ſend a freſh armament abroad, and negociating a loan of 200,000 foreign mercenaries,—not to protect ourſelves, but to attempt the recovery of loſt territories, and the dominions of other ſtates.

Though the Gallic empire has ſpread and expanded itſelf from the banks of the Rhine to the Britiſh Channel and the German Ocean,—and we poſſeſs not one maritime ſpot on her coaſts to effectuate a landing;—yet we threaten

to

to raiſe France from her foundations—had we but a ſpot whereon to place our lever!

Are we then, ſeriouſly, never to have peace, while France is governed by her preſent rulers? Shall an obſtinate adherence to a *dictum*, as cruel as it is untenable in ſound argument, forbid us to tranſplant the olive?—Becauſe the miniſter has ſaid, we "can have no *ſecurity* from the governing powers there"—are we to be for ever precluded from negociating?—No doctrine can be more fallacious; for, to borrow the argument of Mr. Fox,—that objection muſt hold "ſo long as ambition and the deſire of interfering with the internal policy of other kingdoms exiſts among Princes." The attempt of Louis the XIV. to eſtabliſh the houſe of Stewart on the throne of theſe kingdoms, was as violent an attack upon our liberties, as could well be made; yet we never refuſed to make peace with France—under cover of the pretext that no *ſecurity* could be hoped for, or attained, from a government ſo hoſtile to the liberty, and the principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution.—

To invade an *armed nation*, therefore, by carrying on an offenſive war, inſtead of treating with her, is *madneſs** in the extreme;—and the diſtinction made by Mr. Pitt is hoſtile to his declaration: for, "it is not an *army* we have to engage, but an *armed nation*."—Such a nation muſt be invincible, while ſhe acts on the defenſive, and England would reſemble her, if driven to the ſame neceſſity, by becoming an "*armed nation*."

* "*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*"

But, ſuppoſing, for argument's ſake, that acquiſition of territory was the object,--Good God! what proſpect could we have of retaining foreign acquiſitions, and, at the ſame time, procuring a laſting peace?—On what ſide ſoever I turn, I perceive nothing but raſhneſs, and a perſonal and ſelfiſh dread of loſing power.—A concert and confederacy of foreign and deſpotic princes, which threaten the ſubverſion of independent ſtates, and an overthrow of the Balance of Power in Europe. What hope can then remain of ſubduing France, and forcing on her another form of government than that ſhe has thought proper to adopt, when we are compleatly beaten from her frontiers,—and that part of our allies has deſerted us?—If during the two laſt campaigns, we were unable to ſubdue her ſpirit, and controul her ſentiments and opinions, by the force of united armies,—what proſpect preſents itſelf that can warrant us to hope, that with an handful of Auſtrians, (to ſpeak comparatively) we ſhall reach Paris, and diſſolve the Convention?

Though Valenciennes, Conde, Queſnoy and Landrecy have been ſurrendered, and we have not a ſingle fortreſs in our poſſeſſion on her frontiers; we prepare for another continental campaign!—Though the capture of Guadaloupe, and the probable ſurrender of Martinique, and perhaps Jamaica,—points out to us the neceſſity of withdrawing the remainder of our troops from the continent, and ſending them to defend our own Weſt India iſlands, we go on.—Though ſubſidized Pruſſia has betrayed and forſaken us, weproceed

to

to ſubſidize Auſtria alſo, that ſhe may betray us likewiſe.——

To ſtarve France into compliance, is as problematical as to ſubdue her by any military force we can raiſe or purchaſe. What! ſtarve TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS—the inhabitants of a country the moſt fruitful on the globe!—Diſtreſs may preſs them for a ſeaſon, but diſtreſs muſt ſtimulate their exertions;—famine will encreaſe their military force, and want at home muſt drive them to ſeek ſubſiſtence abroad. It is from the common enemy they will procure ſupport.—It is a ſyſtem of inhumanity and baſeneſs that human nature revolts againſt;—a ſyſtem of barbarous policy, which Henry the 4th of France rejected with indignation, when beſieging his own capital;—a ſyſtem of deſperate and unrelenting rigour, which even the outcaſts from that country execrate. "What!" ſay they, "can we rejoice at a ſyſtem which though calculated to reſtore us to our country, muſt yet deprive us of our families?—We cannot forget that we have wives, children and relations in France; and can we rejoice at a ſyſtem that is to ſend famine to their dwellings?"

No, my Lord! You are not of a nature to ſupport ſuch a ſyſtem, nor are the materials you are made of, capable of ſuſtaining a part in ſuch a proceeding. You are too much of the man and the chriſtian, to be an acceſſary in an act of baſeneſs and barbarity which can prove of no avail.

Become therefore, before it is too late, an interceſſor with your Sovereign, to avert the calamities that threaten his empire. He, like you,

has a tear for pity, and will not reject the petitions of his ſubjects for PEACE! Your councils will have weight and authority, for your integrity is unimpeached—and ſuch men are beſt fitted for the adviſers of princes, in lieu of thoſe who look only to perſonal aggrandizement.*—" The ſcene " that opens before you, is great, and the part " that you have to act difficult.—It is difficult, " indeed, to bring men from ſtrong habits of " corruption, to prefer honor to profit, and liber- " ty to luxury; as it is hard to teach princes the " great art of governing all by all, or to prevail " on them to practiſe it. But if it be difficult, it " is a glorious attempt;—an attempt worthy to " exert the greateſt talents, and to fill the moſt " extended life.——Purſue it, my Lord, with " courage, nor deſpair of ſucceſs."†

" *Deus hæc fortaſſe benigna*
" *Reducet in ſedem vice.*"

I am, My Lord, &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

* The Miniſter is in the annual receipt of upwards of £.10,000 per annum, under Government, and his relatives receive annually by penſions and places £.71,000 more—making in the whole, upwards of £80,000 a year, beſides patronage, &c.!!!—This is a proof of his diſintereſtedneſs.—

† Letter on the Spirit of Parties.